with Lake Erie, through the valley of the Wabash. Lake Superior, hitherto secluded from even internal commerce, is now being connected with the other great lakes by the canal of the Falls of St. Mary; and, to complete the whole, the Illinois canal unites the lakes and all the extensive system I have described, with the extensive system I have described, with the Mississippi. Thus, by substituting works purely artificial, we have not only dispensed with the navigation of the St. Lawrence, but have also opened a complete circuit of inland navigation and traffic between New Orleans, on the Gulf, and New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, on the Atlantic. The aggregate length of these canals is five thousand miles, and that of the inland coasts thus washed by natural and artificial channels exceeds twenty thousand miles.

Railcoads constitute an auxiliary system of

ficial channels exceeds twenty thousand miles.

Railroads constitute an auxiliary system of improvements, at once more complex and more comprehensive. By railroads we have connected, or are in the act of connecting, together all the principal scaports on the Atlantic coast and on the coasts of the Guif of Mexico, namely: Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. Again—railroads from each or most of these ports proceed inland through important towns, to great depots on the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, the Obio, and the Mississippi, namely: Ourbec, Montreal. and the Mississippi, namely: Quebec, Montreal, Ogdensburgh, Oswego, Rochester, Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Monroe, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cincinuati, Louisville, St. Louis, Cairo, and Memphis- Again—there are tributaries which search out agricultural and mineral productions and fabrics, accumulated at less notable points; and so a complete system is perfected, which leaves no inhabited region un-explored, while it has for its base the long line

explored, while it has for its base the long line of scaboard. The aggregate length of these railroads is sixteen thousand miles, and the total cost is six hundred millions of dollars.

Immediately after the purchase of Louisiana, President Jefferson having conceived the idea of a national establishment on the Pacific coast, an exploration of the intervening wastes was made. An American navigator about the same time visited the coast itself, and thus laid the foundation of a little by discovery. A commercial settlement of a title by discovery. A commercial settlement, afterwards planted on the Columbia river by the late John Jacob Astor, perished in the war of 1812. Ten years ago, the great thought of Pacific colonization revived, under the influences of the commercial activity resulting from the successful progress of the system of Internal Improvements. Oregon was settled. Two years after-wards, its boundaries were defined, and it was politically organized; and now it constitute

two prosperous Territories.

The social, military, and ecclesiastical, institutions of Mexico, proved unfavorable to an immediate success of the Republican system. Revo-Intion became a chronic disease there. Texas separated, and practically became independent although Mexico refused to recognise her sepa-ration. After some years, Texas was admitted as a State into our Federal Union. A war which ensued, resulted not only in the relinquishment of Mexican claims upon Texas, but in the exten-sion of her coast frontier to the Rio Grande, and also in the annexation of New Mexico and Upper

California to the United States.

Thus, in sixty-five years after the peace of Versailles, the United States advanced from the Mississippi, and occupied a line stretching through eighteen degrees of latitude on the Pacific coast, overlooking the Sandwich Islands and Japan, and confronting China, (the Cathay for which Columbus was in search when he encountered the bewildering vision of San Domingo.) The new possession was divided into two Territories and the State of California. The simultaneous dis-covery of native gold in the sands and rocks of that State resulted in the instantaneous establishment of an active commerce, not only with our Atlantic cities, but also with the ports of South America and with the maritime countries of Europe, with the Sandwich Islands, and even with China. Thus the United States ceased to tude of a great Continental Power, enjoying ocean navigation on either side, and bearing equal and similar relations to the eastern and to the west-tern coast of the Old World. The natural connectern coast of the Old World. The natural connec-tions between the Atlantic and the Pacific regions are yet incomplete; but the same spirit which has brought them into political union is at work still, and no matter what the Government may do or may leave undone, the necessary routes of

domain, will be established. The number of States has increased since this aggrandizement began, from seventeen to thirty-one; the population from five millions to twentyfour millions; the tonnage employed in commerce from one million to four and a half millions; and the National revenue from ten millions to sixty millions of dollars. Within that period, Spain has retired altogether from the Continent, and two considerable islands in the Antilles are all that remain of the New World, which, hardly four centuries ago, the generous and pious Genoese navigator, under the patronage of Isabella, gave to the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon. Great Britain tenders us now the freedom of the fishefavor to the commerce of her Colonies, and even deliberates on the policy of releasing them from their allegiance. The influences of the United States on the American continent have resulted already in the establishment of the Republican system everywhere, except in Brazil, and even there, in limiting Imperial power. In Europe they have awakened a war of opinion, that, after spreading desolation into the steppes of Russia, and to the base of the Carpathian Mountains, has only been suppressed for a time by combina-tion of the capital and of the political forces of that continent. In Africa, those influences, aided by the benevolent efforts of our citizens, have produced the establishment of a Republic, which beginning with the abolition of the traffic is slaves, is going steadily on towards the moral regeneration of its savage races. In the Sand-wich Islands, those influences have already effected, not only such a regeneration of the natives but also a political organization, which is bringing that important commercial station directly under our protection. Those influences have opened the ports of Japan, and secured an intercourse of commerce and friendship with its extraordinary people—numbering forty millions—thus overcoming a policy of isolation which they had practiced for the period of an hundred and fifty years. The same influences have not only procured for us access to the five principal ports of China, but have also generated a revolution there, which promises to bring the three hundred millions living within that vast empire into the

society of the western nations.

How magnificent is the scene which the rising curtain discloses to us here! and how sublime the pacific part assigned to us!

"The Eastern nations sink their glory ends. And Empire rises where the sun descends.

But, restraining the imagination from its desire to follow the infinences of the United States in their future progress through the Manillas, and along the Indian coast, and beyond the Persian Gulf, to the far-off Mozambique, let us dwell for a mo-ment on the visible results of the national ag-grandizement at home. Wealth has everywhere grandizement at home. Wealth has everywhere-increased, and has been equalized with much suc-cess in all the States, new as well as old. In-dustry has been persevering in opening newly discovered resources, and bringing forth their treasures, as well as in the establishment of the productive arts. The Capitol, which at first seemed too pretentious, is extending itself north-ward and southward upon its noble terrace, to receive the representatives of new in-coming States. The departments of Executive administration continually expand under their lofty arches and behind their lengthening colonnades. The Federal city, so recently ridicaled for its ambitious solitudes, is extending its broad avenues in all their corporate existence and individuality. The federal city, so recently ridiculed for its ambitious solitudes, is extending its broad avenues in all directions, and, under the hands of native artists, is taking on the graces, as well as the fullness, of anythal. Where else will you find authority coangust as in a Conneil composed of the Representatives of thirty States, attended by ambassacimity and in intimate connection with that capital, a metropolis has arisen, which gathers, by the agency of canals, of railroads, and of coastwise may themselves be reduced to slavery. The people of the Canadas hesitate, because they throughout the North American States, as well

those under foreign jurisdiction as those which constitute the Union, and distributes them in ex-change over the globe; a city whose wealth and credit supply or procure the capital employed in all the great financial movements within the Re-public, and whose press, in all its departments of science, literature, religion, philanthropy, and politics, is a national one. Thus expansion and aggrandizement, whose natural tendency is to produce debility and dissolution, have operated here to create, what before was wanting, a social,

political, and commercial centre.

In considering the causes of this material growth, allowance must be made liberally for great advantages of space, climate, and resources, as well as for the weakness of outward resistas well as for the weakness of outward resistance, for the vices of foreign Governments, and for the disturbed and painful condition of society under them—causes which have created and sustained a tide of emigration towards the United States, unparalleled, at least, in modern times. But when all this allowance shall have been made, we shall still find that the phenomenon is chiefly due to the operation here of some great ideas, either unknown before, or not before rendered so effective. These ideas are, first, the equality of men conin a State, that is to say, the equality of men con-stituting a State; secondly, the equality of States in combination, or, in other words, the equality of States constituting a nation. By the Constitution of every State in the American Union, each citiof every State in the American Union, each citizen is guarantied his natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and he, at the same time, is guarantied a share of the sovereign power, equal to that which can be assumed by any other citizen. This is the equality of men in the State. By the Constitution of the United States, there are no subjects. Every citizen of any one State is a free and equal citizen of the United States. Again, by the Constitution of the United States. Again, by the Constitution of the United States, there are no provinces, no depend-encies. The Union is constituted by States, and all of them stand upon the same level of political

The reduction of the two abstractions which I have mentioned into the concrete, in the Constitutions of the United States, was, like most other inventions, mainly due to accident. There were thirteen several States, in each of which owing to fortunate circumstances attending their original colonization, each citizen was not only free, but also practically equal in his exercise of political power to every other citizen of that State. The freedom and equality of the citizen, and the inalienability of his natural rights, was solemnly reaffirmed in the Declaration of Independence These thirteen States were severally free and independent of each other. They therefore were equal States. Each was a sovereign. They needed free and mutual commerce among themselves, and some regulation securing to each equal facilities of commerce with foreign countries. A union was necessary to the attainment of these ends. But the citizens of each State were unwilling to surrender either their natural and inalient able rights, or the guardianship of them, to a common Government over them all, even to attain the union which they needed so much. So a Federal Central Government was established, which was sovereign only in commerce, at home and abroad, and in the communications with other nations; that is to save sovereign only in regard to the that is to say, sovereign only in regard to the mutual internal relations of the States them-selves, and in regard to foreign affairs. In this Government, the States were practically equal constituents, although that equality was mod-ified by some limitations found necessary to secure the assent of some of the States. The States were not dissolved, nor disorganized, but they remained really States, just as before, exist-ing independently of each other and of the Union, and exercising sovereignty in all the municipal departments of society. The citizen of each State also retained all his natural rights equally in the Union and in the State to which he be-longed; and the United States were constituted by the whole mass of such cruzens an unoccupied all the several States. There was an unoccupied dered to the Federal authorities, to the end that it might be settled, colonized, and divided into other States, to be organized and to become mem-bers of the Union on an equal footing with the original States. When additions to this domain were made from foreign countries, the same prin-ciples seemed to be the only ones upon which the Government could be extended over them; and so, with some qualifications unimportant on the present occasion, they became universal in their

application.

No other nation, pursuing a career of aggranded in the United States. The Macedonian lice officers, clerks, assessors of tax The religion, however, was of this world, and sensual, and therefore it debased its votaries. France attempted to conquer Europe in retalia-tion for wrongs committed against herself; but the bow broke in her hands, just as it was bent to discharge the last shaft. Spain has planted many Colonies and conquered many States, but the Castilian was proud and haughty; he enslaved the native and oppressed the creole. The Czar wins his way amid kindred races, as a parent, extending protection in the enjoyment of a common religion. But the paternal relation in politics is a fiction of despotism, which extin-guishes all individual energy and all social ambition. Great Britain has been distinguished from all these vulgar conquerors. She is a civilizer and a missionary. She has planted many Colonies in the West, and conquered many and vast countries in the East, and has carried English laws and the English language around th world. But Great Britain at home is an aristoc racy. Her Colonies can neither be equal to her, nor yet independent. Her subjects in those countries may be free, but they cannot be Brit countries may be free, but they cannot be Brit-ons. Consequently, her dependencies are always discontented, and insomuch as they are possessed or swayed by freemen, they are only retained in their connection with the British throne by the presence of military and naval force. You iden-tify an American State or Colony by the absence of the Federal power. Everywhere, on the con-trary, you identify a British Colony, whether in British American or on the Pacific coast or on British America, or on the Pacific coast, or on its Islands, or in Bombay, or in India, or at St. Helena, or at Gibraltar, or on the Ionian isles, by the music of the imperial drum-beat and the frown of royal battlements. Great Britain always inspires fear, and often commands respect, but she has no friends in the wide family of

tection, and sharing its growing greatness and renown. Adjacent States, though of foreign habits, religion, and descent, especially if they are defenceless, look with favor upon the approach of a power that will leave them in full enjoyment of the rights of nature, and, at the same time that it may absorb them, will spare their corporate existence and individuality. The

quality of men and of equality of States in favor of slaveholding States, which were admitted

What is the moral to be drawn from the phys cal progress of the United States? It is, that the strongest bonds of cohesion in society are com-merce and gratitude for protected freedom.

merce and gratitude for protected freedom.

While the majestic progress of the United States is no longer denied as a fact, it is, nevertheless, too generally regarded as purely accidental, and likely to cease through a want of corresponding intelligence and virtue. The principle assumed in this reasoning is just. A nation deficient in intelligence and virtue is an ignoble one, and no ignoble race can retain an enlarged empire. But examination will show that the facts assumed are altogether erroneous. In order facts assumed are altogether erroneous. In order to prove that we are deficient in intelligence, the to prove that we are deficient in intelligence, the monuments of ancient and modern nations, all of whom have either completed their courses or passed the middle point, are arrayed before us, and we are challenged to exhibit similar monuments of equal merit on the part of the United States; as if time was not an essential condition of achievement, and as if, also, circumstances exerted no influence in directing the activity of nations. It is true that we can show no camnations. It is true that we can show no cam-paigns equal to those of Cæsar, or of Frederick, or of Napoleon; and no inspirations of the divine art equal to the Hiad, or the Eneid, or the Inferno. or the dramas of Shakspeare. But it is equally true, that neither Greece, nor Rome, nor France, nor England, has erected a tower as high as Babel, or a mausoleum so massive as the grand

Pyramid.

Reasoning a priori, it is manifest, that insomuch as the physical progress of the United States has been unprecedented while it has followed a method, and insomuch as this progress. has been conducted with magnanimity many temptations and embarrassments, it is of itself no unworthy monument of national intelli-

gence.
The Constitutions (of the States and of the Union) are confessedly unsurpassed. Grant, as is true, that all the great political ideas which are embodied in them, were before known; grant, moreover, that a favorable conjuncture for redu-cing those abstractions to the concrete had come grant, also, that favorable conditions of nature and human society concurred — nevertheless, even then was ever higher genius, or greater talent, displayed, in conducting the affairs of men, than were exercised first in framing the nany peculiar and delicate parts of that system of Government, with proportions so accurate that each might bear the very tension and pressure to which it was to be exposed, and then in bringing all those parts together, and forging them into one great machine with such wonderful skill, that at the very first touch of the propelling popular spring, it went at once into full and perfect op ration, and has continued its movements for seventy years, in prosperity as well as in adversity, amid the factions generated by a long peace, and the disturbances of war—not only without interruption or irregularity, but even without a jar. Consider the sagacity of the People that, amid the clouds of jealousy and the storms of passion, raised by heated partisans, deliberateby examined, and resolutely adopted, that won-derful yet untried mechanism, so contrived for their use, and decided that it should not merely have a trial, but should stand forever, the only Government of themselves and of their posterity. Consider, that not only was this vast engine set in motion by the voluntary act of the People, but it has also been kept in motion by their own perpetually renewed consent and direct activity; and that, although like every other combination and that, although like every other combination of forces, it has its dead points, yet it passes through them with perfect regularity, and without even any sensible diminution of motion, owing to the watchful performance by the People, at critical moments, of the functions devolved upon them. Consider how many and various are the human wills, which meet and concur every time a fresh impulse is given to the great mechanism. A ple not only interfere on such critical occasio but also that they are continually supplying the necessary force to sustain the movements

subordinate parts of the machine.

There are two and a half millions of electors, and every one of these is charged with the performance, for the most part annually, with four several classes of functions, in as many distinct spheres. Once, generally, in each year, the elect-No other nation, pursuing a career of aggrandizement, has adopted the great ideas thus develtrustees, or select men, justices of the peace, postood, and we must change all our courses, and conquered kingdoms for the mere gratification of conquest, and they threw off the sway he established over them as soon as the sword dropped from his hand. The Roman conquered, because the alicn was a barbarian rival and enemy, and Again—the electors, generally, once in each year, officers of the militia, in their respective cities, towns, or other forms of municipalities. empire, thus extended, fell under the blows of enemies, subjugated but not subdued, as soon as the central power had lost its vigor. The Ottoman, although he conquered with the sword, conciliated the subjected tribes by admitting them to the rites of a new and attractive religion. Lieutenant Governors, Senators and Representa-tives, Judges, Treasurers, Ministers of Finance, of Education, of Public Works, and of Charities, in the States constituted by such counties-States sovereign in all things, except the few departments they have voluntarily assigned to the Federal Union. Once more—the citizens choose, once in two years, Representatives, and once in once in two years, Representatives, and once in three years, Senators, who exercise the legislative powers of the Republic; and once in four years, the Vice President and President of the United States, its Chief Executive Magistrates. The peace, order, prosperity, and happiness, and even the safety of society, rest manifestly on the soundness of judgment with which these many and various electoral trusts are discharged. Reflect now, for a moment, on the perturbations of society, the dea moment, on the perturbations of society, the devices and combinations of parties, and the appliances of corruption, to which the electoral body s at all times exposed. Could these functions be performed with results so generally auspicious, if the People of the United States did not, as a mass, excel other nations in intelligence, as much as in the good fortune of inheriting such extra-

ordinary institutions?

Look at the operation of this system in yet another aspect. Not only the Constitutions of the several States, but even the Constitution of the formity to certain established conditions, they can change or subvert all these Constitutions.

There is indeed no restraining power acting upon them, from within or from without. Practically, they do change the Constitutions of the several States once in twenty years. Yet they work such changes generally without commotion, and that eminence better? Where is protection they have never made one without replacing the safe, commercial honor better sustain but she has no friends in the wide family of nations. So it has happened, that heretofore nations have either repelled, or exhausted, or disgusted the Colonies they planted and the countries they conquered.

The United States, on the contrary, expand by force, not of arms, but of attraction. The native colonist no sooner reaches a new and distant home, whether in a cleft of the Rocky Mountains or on the seashore, than he proceeds to found a State, in which his natural and inviolate rights shall be secure, and which shall become an equal of the states of pleading and practice in courts where the purisprudence of the civil law, and all the others the common and statute laws of England. Does any one deny that they have never made one without replacing the constitution removed by a better one. A few of the States inherited the jurisprudence of the civil law, and all the others the common and statute laws of England. Does any one deny that they have never walls manifested itself, chiefly, in widening the circle of education and clevating the standard of popular intelligence? With forces which, if combined and directed by ambition, would subjugate this so far as was required by the changing circumstances of society and the ever-improving sentiments of justice and humanity? Let our logical amendments of the rules of evidence, and our simple process of pleading and practice in courts.

Where lies the secret of the increase of virtue in private and in public life. Has not the great increase of private wealth manifested itself, chiefly, in widening the circle of education and clevating the standard of popular intelligence? With forces which, if combined and directed by ambition, would subjugate this so far as was required by the changing circumstances of society and the ever-improving sentiments of the rules of evidence, and our simple process of pleading and practice in courts. simple process of pleading and practice in courts of justice, our meliorations of imprisonment for debt, and of eleemosynary laws, and of peniten-

sea—the fire-arm, the axe, the plough, the railroad, the clipper ship, the steam engine, and the printing press. His railroads cost less and are less perfect than those in other countries, but he builds ten miles where they have only three. He moves passengers and freights on such roads and in his ships with less safety, but with greater cheapness and velocity. He prepares his newspapers, his magazines, and his treatises, with less care, but he prints an hundred for one. If the European has failed to give him a necessary principle, or to embody it in a practical machine, he finds out the one, or constructs the other promptly for himself. He wanted machines for working up his forests, and he invented the sawgang, and the grooving and planing machines:

"Much less anart mistake themselves for that

"Nor think they are essentially the STATE.

"Let them not fancy that the authority

for harvesting his wheat, and he invented the reaper. He needed mechanical force to navigate his long rivers and broad lakes, and he converted the steam engine into a marine power. He needed despatch in communicating intelligence, and he placed his lightning-rod horizontally, and beating it into a wire, converted it into a writing

telegraph.

Fifty years ago, there was no American Science and no American Literature. Now, there is an American tenancy in every intellectual department, and none acknowledge its presence and usefulness more freely than those whose fame has least to fear from competition.

It seems to me that this intellectual development of the United States is due chiefly to the adoption of the great idea of universal emulation.

Our Constitutions and laws open every depart-ment of human enterprise and ambition to all citizens, without respect to birth, or class, or condition, and steadily though cautiously exert a power quite effective in preventing any accidental social inequality from becoming fixed and permanent. There still remains the question, whether the

gang, and the grooving and planing machines; for cleaning his cotton, and he invented the gin;

moral development is co-ordinate with those of physical power and mind in the United States. A

Republic may be safe, even though it be weak, and though it be in a considerable degree intellectually inactive, as is seen in Switzerland; but a Republic cannot exist without virtue.

It will not suffice to examine the question through the lens of traditional prejudice. In all nations, a kind of reverence is paid to antiquity. There is no one that does not trace its lineage There is no one that does not trace its lineage from the gods, or from those who were especially favored by gods. Every people has had its age of gold, or Augustan age, or heroic age—an age, alas! forever passed. These prejudices are not altogether unwholesome. Although they produce a conviction of declining virtue, which is unfavorable to generous emulation, yet a People at once ignorant and irreverential would necessarily become licentions. Nevertheless, such sarily become licentious. Nevertheless, such prejudices ought to be modified. It is not true, that in the period of a nation's rise from disorder to refinement, it is not able to continually surpass to refinement, it is not able to continually surpass itself. We see the present plainly, distinctly, with all its coarse outlines, its rough inequalities, its dark blots, and its glaring deformities. We hear all its tumultuous sounds and jarring discords. We see and hear the past, through a distance which reduces all its inequalities to a plane, mellows all its shades into a pleasing hue, and subdues even its hoarsest voices into harmony. In our own case, the prejudice is less erroneous than our own case, the prejudice is less erroneous than in most others. The Revolutionary age was truly a heroic one. Its exigencies called forth the genius and the talents and the virtues of society, and they ripened amid the hardships of a lon and severe trial. But there were selfishness, and vice, and factions, then, as now, although comparatively subdued and repressed. You have only to majority of the States, neglecting or refusing to act on any such occasion, could bring the Government to a dead stand. Consider that the Peoculminated at that period in our own country,* while a mere glance at the literature, or at the stage, or at the politics, of any European country, in any previous age, reveals the fact that it was more distinctly than the present, by

Reasoning a priori again, as we did in another case, it is only just to infer in favor of the United States an improvement of morals from their established progress in knowledge and power; superstition and ignorance.

Shall it be the eccentricity of crimes? Certainly not; for then we must compare the criminal ec-

Loyalty to the State is a public virtue. it ever deeper-toned or more universal than it is now? I know there are ebullitions of passion and discontent, sometimes breaking out into dis-order and violence; but was faction ever more effectually disarmed and harmless than it is now There is a loyalty that springs from the affection that we bear to our native soil. This we have, as strong as any people. But it is not the soil alone, nor yet the soil beneath our feet and the skies over our heads, that constitute our country. It is its freedom, equality, justice, greasuess, and glory. Who among us is so low as to be insensi-ble of an interest in them? Four hundred thou-sand natives of other lands every year voluntarily renounce their own sovereigns, and swear fealty to our own. Who has ever known an American o transfer his allegiance to a foreign Power

.The spirit of the laws, in any country, is a true index to the morals of a people, just in proportion to the power they exercise in making them. Who complains, here or elsewhere, that crime or im-morality blots our statute-books with licentious

The characters of a country's magistrates, legis-The characters of a country's magistrates, legislators, and captains, chosen by a people, reflect their own. It is true, that in the earnest canvassing which so frequently-recurring elections require, suspicion often follows the magistrate, and scandal follows in the footsteps of the statesman. Yet, when his course has been finished, what magistrate has left a name tarnished by corruption or what statesman has left an extra or an several States, but even the Constitution of the Union, stands only by the voluntary consent of the People. By physical force, which there is no Government force to suppress, they could subvert Government force to suppress, they could subvert any or all of these Constitutions. Even without moderation as he who, when he had placed our force, and acting only by agreement, but in con- standard on the battlements of the capital of Mexico, not only received an offer of supreme au-

that eminence better? Where is property more

which has thus been established? I think it will be found in the entire emancipation of the con-

"Much less apart, mistake themselves for that "Which is most worthy to be thought upon,

"And privileges on them bestowed,
"Conferr'd, are to set up a majesty,
"Or a power or a glory of their own;
"But let them know it was for a deeper life

"Which they but represent; "That there's on earth a yet auguster thing, " Veil'd though it be, than Parliament or King.

Gentlemen, you are devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, in order that you may impart it to the State. What Fenelon was to France, you are to your country. Before you teach, let me enjoin upon you to study well the capacity and the dispo-sition of the American People. I have tried to prove to you only that they are youthful, vigor-ous, and apt, and, therefore, that they are wor-thy, and will make noble uses of your best instructions.

* " I ought not to object to your reverence for your fathers, as you call them, meaning, I presume, the Government and those concerned presume, the Government and those concerned in the direction of public affairs; much less could I be displeased at your numbering me among them. But, to tell you a very great secret, as far as I am capable of comparing the merits of different periods, I have no reason to believe that we were better than you are. We had as many poor creatures and selfish beings, in proportion, among us, as you have among you; nor were there then more enlightened men, or in greater number, in proportion, than there are now."—John Adams's Letter to Josiah Quincy, Feb. 9, 1811.

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WEST INDIA BAY RUM. Just opening, a superior article of double-distilled West India Bay Rum—a most refreshing article to bathe the face and head with in hot weather. Cologne, in quart, pint, and half-pint bottles—a

LACE MITTS-ELEGANT FANS. A full assortment of black embroidered ince mitts with and without half fingers, long and half long. FANS! FANS!! FANS!!!

Also opening, a new assortment of elegant, latest style, Paris Fans, with Pearl, Ivory, Bone, and Wood Sticks. PARKER'S Perfumery, Comb, and Fancy Store, —3t under National Hotel

Dr. Nathanlel Thurston's Office. R 00M No. 20, in Hilman's Temperance House, on Davis street, Nos. 80 and 82, San Francisco, California. May 8.

MANUFACTURERS and Importers of Britannia Ware, Tea and Communion Sets, Ice Pitchers, &c., No. 109 Race or Sassafras street, above Third, opposite the White Swan, Philadelpnia. Dec. 1—6m GEORGE W. JULIAN, Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Centreville,

Indiana, WILL attend to the securing and collecting of claims, and all other business intrusted to his care, in the counties of Wayne, Randolph, Henry, Union, and Fayette, and in the Supreme and Federal Courts at Indianapolis.

RARD & WILSON. MANUFACTURERS OF GOLD PENS, of every M description, respectfully call the attention of the public and Pen Dealers to their recently patented "ANGULAR NIB" Gold Pens. These pens are pronounced by competent judges to be superior to any other now extant. For sale at the manufactory, northeast corner of Market and Third streets, Philadelphia Jan. 21.

MY Rotary Planing Machine has just been decided
M not to infringe the Woodworth Machine, by the
Supreme Court of the United States, and I am now
prepared to sell rights to use in all parts of the United
States. This Machine gives universal satisfaction.
It obtained a Medal both in New York and Boston,
over the Woodworth Machine, after a trial of three
weeks.

Loyall, Pet. 14, 1884

composition, received from his elder transatlantic brother, in the light of those objects, and has either improved it, or devised a new and better one. He aims at doing the most that is possible as quickly as possible; and this characteristic is manifested equally in his weapons of war and his instruments of peace, whether they are to be used in the field, or in the workshop, or on the sea—the fire-arm, the axe, the plough, the railroad, the clipper ship, the steam engine, and the every nation must perpetually renew its Constitution. Hence it is that we are so well told by Bolingbroke, that every nation must perpetually renew its Constitution. No article ever yet invented which will compare with it. We would advise all who have will compare with it. We would advise all who have gray hairs to buy it, for it never fails .- Boston Post. Z. D. GILMAN Chemist, Washington city, Invent-

or and Sole Proprietor.

For sale by Druggists, Hair-Dressers, and Dealers n Fancy Articles, throughout the United States.

SEWING MACHINE FOR SALE CHEAP. WE have deposited with us, for sale, one of Avery's superior Sewing Machines, and are authorized to dispose of the same as a great bargain. This machine is considered one of the best now in use. We annex herewith the recommendation of some of the principal wholesale merchanttailors in New York city. NEW YORK, July 30, 1853.

NEW YORK, July 30, 1853.

We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that we have examined the "Avery Sewing Machine," and cheefully recommend it for its simplicity, durability, and especially for the peculiar stitch made by it. The stitch is original, and in appearance is like the most perfect and handsome "back-stitching" We have thoroughly tested the strength of the sewing, and are satisfied that the stitch of this machine makes a stronger and firmer seam than can be made by hand. We take pleasure in recommending this Machine to our friends, and to tallors, seamstresses, and families generally, throughout the country:

Boughton & Knapp, Wholesale Dealers in Men's and Boy's Clothing, 19 Courtlandt st.

Lockwood & DuBois, Merchant Tailors, 558 Broadway.

H. A Gould & Co., Wholesale Dealers in Clothing, 221 Washington at. J. P. Hull, Mersbant Tailor, 553 Broadway. Dickson & Pettus, Mcrchant Tailors, 523 Broadway.

Apply at the publication office of the National Enth street, opposite Odd Fellows' Hall. March 2. Soldiers who served in the various wars, and sailors, or their widows or heirs, to whom arrears of pay, extra pay, bounty land, penaions, &c., may be due, may find it to their advantage to have their claims investigated. ATTENTION!

eir claims investigated. Address
A. M. GANGEWER,
Attorney and Agent, Washington, D. C.
Bounty-land warrants bought and sold.

FOR THE SPRING TRADE. SHIRTS in every variety of style and quality. Gentlemen in want of a good-fitting shirt can be suited in style, quality, and price, at STEVENS'S March 7. Sales Room, Brown's Hotel.

F. MATTINGLY. HAT. Cap, and Misses' Flat Manufacturer, No. 7
Washington Place, 7th street, between D and E,
Washington, D. C.
Jan. 2.

For Ladies, Gentlemen, and Children EDMONSTON, west side of 7th street, (nearly opposite 0dd Fellows' Hall,) manufactures to order, and keeps constantly on hand and for sale, every article in his line, of superior quality and at the lowest prices. The public are thanked for their past very liberal patronage, and are assured that no pains shall be spared to merit a continuance of their favors.

WE ARE NOW OPENING. WE ARE NOW OPENING,
A Tour splendidly-lighted sales rooms, on Seventh
street, 3 doors north of Pennsylvania avenue, a
choice stock of rich Fancy Dress Goods, embracing
all the novelties of the scason; also, Spring Styles
Mantelletts, Black Lace Shawls and Scarfs, White
Crape Shawls, Cashmere Scarfs and Shawls, French
Ki i and Silk Gloves, Hosiery and Embroideries, with
a choice lot of Linen and Staple Goods in great
abundance—all of which will be sold at fair, low
prices.

We invite purchasers to call and examine our stock

prove as represented.

MAXWELL, SEARS, & COLLEY. April 10 FOR THE SPRING TRADE.

BEEBE'S NEW YORK HATS for the spring of 1854. The second supply of the above elegant Hats this day received at STEVENS'S March 7. Sales Room, Brown's Hotel.

D. CAMPBELL,
SADDLER, Harness, and Trunk Maker, Pennsylvania avenue, a few doors east of the National Hotel, City of Washington.

Jan. 2—3m

RAZORS! RAZORS!! RAZORS!!! IF you want a fine, smooth shave, call at PARKER'S,
who can now furnish you with one of the celebrated Chinese Razors, and five others of the best patterns, of Wade & Butcher's make. Also, ten new patterns of the celebrated Tally Ho Razors.

One gross of Wade & Butcher's Razors, for barbers, deuble concave ground.

PARKER'S Perfumery and Fancy Store, under National Hotel

NEW GOODS. PARKER, at his Perfumery and Fancy Store, un der the National Hotel, Pa. avenue, is just open ing a new and complete stock of Goods, con

GLOVES Ladies and Gent's Paris Kid Gloves, all sizes and col-

PERFUMERY PERFUMERY.

Extracts, from the houses of Lubin and Prevost, Paris, and Harrison, Philadelphia;

Genuine German Cologne, Pematum, Bourf Marrow;
Cold Cream, Macasear Oll, W. L. Bay Rum;
Low's Brown Windsor Soap, Cleaver's Honey Soap;
Lubin's Rose and Musk Soaps;
Taylor's Transparent Balls, &c., &c.

DEFICITION

BRUSHES. English, French, and American Hair Brushes, in one hundred different patterns; 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 row Tooth Brushes, London made

COMBS.
Tuck Combs, latest Paris styles; Shell, Buffalo, English cold-pressed Horn and India Rubber Dressing Combs; John Pen's premium ivory fine teeth Combs, and Pocket Combs.

FOR SHAVING.

Guerlain's, Roussel's, and Harrison's Shaving Cream
Military Cakes, and all other Shaving Soaps;
Badger's hair Shaving Brushes, very superior.

PARKER'S PREMIUM RAZOR STROP.
WASBINGTON, Murch 12, 1849.
We, the undersigned, having fairly tested Parker's Metallic Razor Strop Powder, to which the Maryland Institute has awarded a premium, take great pleasure in certifying that it will keep the Razor in fine, smooth shaving order, without the use of hone.

J. Macpherson Brabies, U. S. Senator.
W. W. SRATON, Mayor of Washington.
W. S. Archer, House of Representatives.
Rev. T. M. Prasz, Washington City.
THOMAS J. RUSK, U. States Senator.
Hiram Walbridge, Esq., New York city.
RAZORS.
Wade & Butcher's, of our own importation;
Tally-Ho, from 25 cents to \$1.25 each. PARKER'S PREMIUM RAZOR STROP.

Tally-Ho, from 25 cents to \$1.25 each.
Razors imported to order, and all warranted.
Jan. 2—d

M. SNYDER, M. SNYDER,

Banker and Exchange Broker, National Hotel
Building, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington
city. D. C. Jan. 11. REMOVAL!

HENRY JANNEY'S Boot and Shoe Store and Manufactory, for the last ten years located on 8th street, near the General Post Office, was removed Street, near the General Post Office, was removed to Pennsylvania Avenue, between Browns' Hotel and 7th street, where the proprietor has spared no pains or expense in fitting up an establishment commensu-rate with the great increase in the business of the

The subscriber tenders his most cordial and grate

The subscriber tendors his most cordial and grateful acknowledgments to his friends and patrons for their long-continued favors, and will be pleased to meet them in his new house.

I have a very well-assorted stock of Boots and Shoes, of French, New York, Eastern, and my own make, embracing every style and variety, to which I invite the attention of members of Congress, and sitients generally.

HENRY JANNEY.

Penn. av., north side, between Browns' Hotel Jan. 2 and 7th st., third door from the latter.

From the United States Argus.

From the United States Argus.

From the United States Argus.

To those persons who may visit Washington, and are in want of a boot that cannot be excelled, either in quality or workmanship, we would call their attention to the eard of Henry Janney, to be found under the head of "Washington." A bandsome and neatly-made boot is not at all times a source of pleasure to the wearer, but often one of extreme torture; this is caused by the bungling manner in which the boot is fitted to the foot. Mr. Janney has devoted much of his time in studying the construction of the human foot, in order to ascertain how a boot should be cut and fitted, that will be perfectly easy to all parts of the foot. In this he has succeeded, so that it matters not what may be the shape of, or the number of corns.

The following is a list of the Free Democratic and Anti-Slavery papers published in

FREE DEMOCRATIC PRESS. Inquirer, Portland, Me.; A. Willey; \$2 per annum. Ind. Democrat, Concord, N. H.; G. G. Fogg; \$2. News, Keene, N. H.; S. Woodward; \$1.25. Democrat, Manchester, N. H.; J. H. Goodale; \$1.50. Messenger, Portsmouth, N. H.; T. J. Whittam; \$1.

Vermont Tribune, Burlington, Vt.; Guy C. Sampson. Freeman, Montpelier, Vt.; D. P. Thompson; \$2. Brandon Post, Brandon, Vt.; P. Welch; \$1.

Brandon Post, Brandon, Vt.; P. Welch; \$1.

Commonwealth, Boston, Ms.; J. D. Baldwin; daily \$5, weekly \$2.

Sentinel, North Adams, Ms.; A. D. Brock; \$1.50.

News, Fitchburg, Mass.; R. F. Rollins; \$1.50.

Essex County Freeman, Salem, Ms.; J. Emmett; Republican, Greenfield, Ms.

Spy, Woreester, Ms.; J. M. Earle; \$2.

Standard, New Bedford, Ms.
Courier, Northampton, Ms.
Gazette, Dedham, Ms.; Henry O. Hildreth; \$2.

Democrat, Dedham, Ms.; E. G. Robinson; \$2. Rhode Island Freeman, Providence, R. I.; Crawford

& Harris; \$1. Republican, Hartford, Ct.; Bartlett & Hawley; \$2. Northern Standard, Keeseville, N. Y.; Lansing &

Follett.

Herald, Ellington, N. Y.; A. S. Brown.

Evening Chronicle, Syracuse, N. Y.; H. R. Raymond daily \$3, weekly \$1.50.

Spirit of the Age, Norwich, N. Y.; J. D. Lawyer; \$1.

Wyoming Co. Mirror, Warsaw, N. Y.; A. Holley; \$2

Telegraph, Oneida, N. Y.; D. H. Frost; \$1.25.

Banner of the Times, De Ruyter, N. Y.

Free Press, Wellsville, N. Y.; A. N. Cole; \$1.50.

Frederick Douglass' Paper, Rochester, N. Y.; Frederick Douglass; \$2.

Free Press, Gouverneur, New York; Mitchell & Hulbert; \$1.

bert; \$1. Herald, Jamestown, N. Y. Carson League, Syraense, N. Y.; J. Thomas; \$1.50. Carson League, Syraonse, N. Y.; J. Hadmar, \$1.50.

American Banner, Cherry Valley, Pa.; Jonh B. King
Courier, Concantville, Pa.; G. W. Brown.
Olive Branch, Norristown, Pa.; Joseph Moyer; \$1.

Saturday Visiter, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Jane G. & William
Swisshelm; \$1.50.

Freeman, Mercer, Pa.; W. T. Clark; \$1.50.

Weekly Crescent, Erie, Pa.; Caughey & McCreary;
\$1.50.

\$1.50.
The People's Journal, Coudersport, Potter county,
Pa.; Dougall, Mann & Haskell; \$1.50.
Dispatch, Pittsburg, Pa.; Foster & Fleeson; daily
\$3, weekly \$1.
Clarion of Freedom, Indiana, Pa.; Moorhoad & McClaran; \$1.
Die Frie Press, Philadelphia, Pa.; F. W. Thomas; dai1y. \$3. \$1.50

The Christian Statesman, Mansfield, O.; Rev. Ed

The Christian Statesman, Mansheld, C., Rev. and Smith.

The Oberlin Weekly Times, Oberlin O.; — Reed. Homestead Journal, Salem, O.; A. Hinksman; \$1.50. Christian Press, Cincinnati, O.; \$2.

True Democrat, Cleveland, O.; Thomas Brown; daily \$6, weekly \$2.

Ashtabula Sentinel, Jefferson and Ashtabula, O.; W. C. Howell, \$2. Ashtabula Sentinel, Jefferson and Ashtabula, O.; W. C. Howell; \$2.

Mahoning Free Democrat, Youngstown, O.; M. Cullotan; \$1.50.
Commercial, Cleveland, O.; H. M. Addison; \$1.50.
Journal, Wellington, O.; George Brewster; \$1.50.
Western Reserve Chronicle, Warren, O.; E. O. Howard; \$2.

ard; \$2. Telegraph, Painsville, O.; Gray & Doolittle; \$2. Ohio Times, Mount Vernon, O.; Chapman & Thrall; ard : \$2. \$1.50. Independent Democrat, Elyria, O.; Philemon Bliss

\$2.
Columbian, Columbus, O.; L. L. Rice.
Free Democrat, Chardon, O.; J. S. Wright; \$1.
Star, Rayenna, O.; Lyman W. Hall; \$1.50.
Herald of Freedom, Wilmington, O.; J. W. Chaffin True Republican, Greenfield, O. Williams Democrat, West Unity, O.; Win. A Hunter

Free Democrat, Detroit, Mich.; S. H. Baker; daily \$5. weekly \$1. Free Democrat, Indianapolis, Ind.; R. Vaile; \$1.50. Western Citizen, Chicago, Ill.; Z. C. Eastman; daily and weekly.

Journal, Sparta, Ill.; I. S. Coulter; \$1.25.

Western Freeman, Galesburg, Ill.; W. J. Lane; \$2.

Standard, Freeport, Ill.

Free Democrat, Milwaukie, Wisconsin; S. M. Booth; daily \$6, tri-weekly \$3, weekly \$2. Advocate, Racine, Wisconsin; C. Clement; daily \$5, weekly \$2.

Kenosha, Wisconsin; Sholes & Densmore Telegraph, Kenosha, Wisconsin; Succeeding \$1.50.
daily \$5, weekly \$1.50.
Free Press, Janesville, Wisconsin; Joseph Baker; Western Freeman, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; J. A. Smith; \$1.50.
Democrat, Oshkosh, Wisconsin; George Burnside & Co.; \$1.50.

Kentucky News, Newport, Ky.; W. S. Bailey; \$1. True Demecrat, Mount Pleasant, Iowa; J. W. Howe; Der Demokrat, Davenport, Iowa; Th. Gulich; \$2 Pacific Statesman, San Francisco, Cal.; J. H. Purdy Der National Demokrat, Washington, D. C.; Fred

ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS. Liberator, Boston, Ms.; Wm. Lloyd Garrison; \$2.50. Pennsylvania Freeman, Philadelphia, Pa.; C. M. Bur-leigh; \$2. National Anti-Slavery Standard, New York, N. Y. S. H. Gay & E. Quincy; \$2. Anti-Slavery Bugle, Salem, O.; M. R. Robinson; \$1.50. Voice of the Fugitive.

"Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty." PROSPECTUS OF THE FREE CITIZEN.

A PAPER FOR THE PROPLE. THE undersigned proposes to publish at the seat of government of Pennsylvania an independent Democratic weekly newspaper under the above title; and, in announcing this purpose, we deen it proper to refer briefly to a few of the general principles which

to refer briefly to a few of the general principles which hall govern our course.

The Scripture teaches that "God created man in his own image," and that all men are consequently brethern. The Declaration of Independence recogn see this truth when it declares that "all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, tiberty and the pursuit of happiness."

We believe in the Constitution of the United States, which declares its purpose to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and hold that all its provisions should be construed in accordance with this general purpose.

sings of liberty," and hold that all its provisions should be construed in accordance with this general purpose.

This was the position and purpose of the sages of the Revolution, and we, their descendants, should labor to secure the blessings of individual liberty and national liberty.

We believe in Democracy—a government by the People and for the People—in the Democracy of free thought, free speech, free conscience, free labor, and free men—in the Democracy which loathes Oppression, and which does not bend its back to sustain the interests of a Class, however powerful or imposing its numbers or position. A Democracy which does this, which despises the People, undersates their intelligence, disregards their opinions, and abuses their confidence, we look upon as a pretence and a sham. It man is to be considered merely as a stall-fed animal, to be satisfied when filled with creature comforts, then will free citizens and free laborers be looked upon as a nuisance and an incumbrance; but not when they are regarded as the life-blood of the Republic. We have been told that such a paper as we propose to print cannot live in the atmosphere of Harrisburg, that the politicians of Pennsylvania have so debauched her public sentiment as to crush out all regard for Justice, Humanity and the Rights of Man as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence; but we do not believe this. Every friend of freedom and democracy has a personal interest in the reputation of the Commonwealth, and we trust every friend of the cause will do his part to sastain THE FREE CITIZEN, and refute this slander on the Keystone State.

TERMS.—THE FREE CITIZEN will be printed on a large and handsome sheet, at Two Dollars per year, payable invariably in advance. Three copies will be sent for \$5; 5 copies for \$8; and 10 copies for \$15. No paper will be sent unless the money accompanies the order. Address

A. M. GANGEWER, Harrisburg, Pa.

> Lays of Liberty: VERSES FOR THE TIMES.

THIS is the title of a small volume of choice Anti-Slavery verses, collected from yarious sources, and put into one little volume of fifty-four pages, handsome y printed, and bound in cloth. Published by

BELA MARSH.

May 29.

No. 9 Franklin street, Boston.

WM. B. JARVIS, ATTORNEY AT LAW.

Madison, Wisconsin.

Collections promptly attended to. Particular attention paid to such claims as are marked "Gone West," &c., against persons residing in any of the Western States. Address as above, post paid.

Jan. 6

not what may be the shape of, or the number of corns on the foot, his boot is perfectly easy. Thus he has combined beauty with comfort.